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WARREN HASTINGS

BY

LORD MACAULAY.

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AN ESSAY

BY

LORD MACAULAY.

(ABRIDGED.)

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LIFE OF MACAULAY.

Thomas Babington Macaulay, the great historian of England, was born at Rothley, near Leicester, in 1800, and was named Thomas Babington after his uncle. Macaulay's grandfather was a Scotch minister, and his father, Zachary, after having spent some time in Jamaica, returned to England, and joined Wilberforce and Clarkson in their efforts to abolish slavery in the British possessions. Macaulay was educated at Bristol and at Cambridge, where he gained great distinction, and twice won medals for his poems. He was also a member of the Union Debating Society, a famous club where young politicians tried their skill in the discussion of the affairs of State. He took his degree of M.A. in 1825, was called to the bar in 1826, and contributed extensively to Knight's *Quarterly Magazine*, in which his first literary efforts appeared, including among others the ballads of "The Spanish Armada" and "The Battle of Ivry." In 1825 he contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* his celebrated article on Milton, and this was succeeded by numerous others on various themes, historical, political, and literary, which were afterward collected and published separately.

Macaulay was a member of Parliament first for Colne, then for Leeds, and took part in the great discussions connected with the Reform Bill of 1832. In return for his services to his party, he was sent to India in 1834 as a member of the Council, and while there wrote his famous essays on *Lord Clive* and *Warren Hastings*. In 1839 Macaulay returned to England, was elected member for Edinburgh, and, during the eight years of his connection with that city, held successively the offices of Secretary at War and Paymaster-General of the Forces. In 1842 he gave to the world his spirited "Lays of Ancient Rome." In 1847 he displeased his Edinburgh supporters, and in a pet they rejected him; but in 1852 they re-elected him of their own accord, and in this way endeavored to atone for the past. He devoted the interval between these two dates to his *History of England*, the first two volumes of which were published in 1848, two others making their appearance in 1855. They form a magnificent fragment of historical writing, embracing a period of little more than twelve years, from the accession of James II. to the Peace of Ryswick, in 1697. A fifth volume, compiled from the papers which he left

behind, and bringing the work down to the death of William III., was published posthumously in 1859. He retired from Parliament in 1856, owing to failing health, and in the following year he was created a baron in consideration of his great literary merit. In 1859 he died suddenly of disease of the heart, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Lord Macaulay excelled as a poet and essayist, but he is chiefly illustrious as a historian. In the opening chapter of his *History of England* the author announces his intention to write a history from the accession of James II. down to a time within the memory of men still living. Its success was very great. History was no longer dry and uninviting, for Macaulay had become a painter as well as a chronicler. The events of the past are depicted in such fresh and striking coloring that they have all the interest of absolute novelty. We have life-like portraits of the great men of the age, landscapes and street scenes, spirit-stirring descriptions of insurrections and trials and sieges, and graphic pictures of manners and customs. Macaulay had a very wonderful memory, of which he was proud, and he was able to collect and retain stores of information from all manner of old books, papers, and parchments, and to make use of them in the production of his history. He is not always impartial, but sufficiently so to be considered the best authority on that portion of history with which he deals.

Macaulay's personal appearance was never better described than in two sentences of Praed's Introduction to Knight's *Quarterly Magazine:* "There comes up a short manly figure, marvelously upright, with a bad neckcloth, and one hand in his waistcoat pocket. Of regular beauty he had little to boast; but in faces where there is an expression of great power, or great good humor, or both, you do not regret its absence." This picture, in which every touch is correct, tells us all that there is to be told. He had a massive head, and features of a powerful and rugged cast; but so constantly lighted up by every joyful and ennobling emotion, that it mattered little if, when absolutely quiescent, his face was rather homely than handsome. While conversing at table, no one thought him otherwise than good-looking; but when he rose he was seen to be short and stout in figure. He at all times sat and stood straight, full, and square. He dressed badly, but not cheaply. His clothes, though ill put on, were good, and his wardrobe was always enormously over-stocked. Macaulay was bored in the best of society, but took unceasing delight in children. He was the best of playfellows unrivaled in the invention of games, and never weary of repeating them.

LORD MACAULAY. 1800–1859.

"I always prophesied his greatness, from the first moment I saw him, then a very young and unknown man. There are no limits to his knowledge, on small subjects as well as great. He is like a book in breeches."—*Sydney Smith.*

"His learning is prodigious; and perhaps the chief defects of his composition arise from the exuberant riches of the stores from which they are drawn. When warmed in his subject, he is thoroughly in earnest, and his language, in consequence, goes direct to the heart."—*Alison.*

"The exact style, the antitheses of ideas, the harmonious construction, the artfully balanced paragraphs, the vigorous summaries, the regular sequence of thoughts, the frequent comparisons, the fine arrangement of the whole—not an idea or phrase of his writings in which the talent and the desire to explain does not shine forth."—*Taine.*

"Behind the external show and glittering vesture of his thoughts—beneath all his pomp of diction, aptness of illustration, splendor of imagery, and epigrammatic point and glare—a careful eye can easily discern the movement of a powerful and cultivated intellect, as it successively appears in the the well-trained logician, the discriminating critic, the comprehensive thinker, the practical and far-sighted statesman, and the student of universal literature."—*E. P. Whipple.*

"Macaulay's essays, are remarkable for their brilliant rhetorical power, their splendid tone of coloring, and their affluence of illustration with a wide range of reading, and the most docile and retentive memory. He pours over his theme all the treasures of a richly-stored mind, and sheds light upon it from all quarters. He excels in the delineation of historical characters, and in the art of carrying his reader into a distant period and reproducing the past with the distinctness of the present."—*George S. Hillard.*

PRINCIPAL WORKS

Macaulay excelled as a POET, ESSAYIST, ORATOR, and HISTORIAN.

As a Poet: Of the first fruits of our author's poetical genius perhaps the most admired are *The Battle of Ivry* and *The Spanish Armada.* In 1842, Macaulay gave to the world his *Lays of Ancient Rome,* consisting of the soul-stirring narrations of "Horatius Cocles," "Battle of Lake of Regillus," "Death of Virginia," and "Prophecy of Capys."

As an Essayist: Macaulay's essay on Milton, published in the *Edinburgh Review* for Aug., 1825, was followed by essays, in all about forty, from the same pen for nearly a score of years, articles unsurpassed in varied and accurate learning, and in fervid eloquence and brilliancy, by any composition of the kind in the English language. The following is a list of the principal essays, with the years of publication, for the most part published in the *Edinburgh Review:* Milton, 1825; Machiavelli, 1827; Dryden, 1828; History, 1828; Hallam's Constitutional History, 1828; Southey's Colloquies on Society, 1830; Montgomery's Poems, 1830; Southey's Edition of the The Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, 1830; Moore's Byron, 1831; Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson, 1831; Nugent's Hampden, 1831; Lord Burleigh and his Times, 1832; Mirabeau, 1832; War of the Spanish Succession, 1833; Horace Walpole, 1833; Earl of Chatham, 1834; Sir James Mackintosh, 1835; Lord Bacon, 1837; Sir William Temple, 1838; Church and State, 1839; LORD CLIVE, 1840; Ranke's History of the Popes, 1840; Comic Dramatists of the Restoration, 1841; Lord Holland, 1841; WARREN HASTINGS, OCT., 1841; Frederick the Great, 1842; Madame D'Arblay, 1843; Joseph Addison, 1843; Earl of Chatham,1844; Barere's Memoirs, 1844; Athenian Orators; Mitford's Greece, and Mill's Essay on Government.

Biographies of Dr. Johnson, Bunyan, William Pitt, Goldsmith, and others, written for the eighth edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica (1857–8), were among the latest productions of Macaulay's pen.

As an Orator: Macaulay's speeches, parliamentary and miscellaneous, number nearly one hundred, generally held to be some of the most eloquent and instructive ever delivered before the English public.

As a Historian: In 1848 appeared the first two volumes of Macaulay's

story of England, "from the accession of King James the Second wn to a time which is within the memory of men still living." The ird and fourth volumes were issued in 1855. The success of these lumes was great and immediate. A fifth volume, comprising all at he left ready for the press, and bringing the work down to the d of the year 1701, was published after his death. The great work as remains a fragment of that originally projected.

REFERENCES.

For any desired information concerning Macaulay and his writings, nsult, besides the ordinary reference books, Trevelyan's *Life of icaulay*, a work of the deepest interest and full of all manner of tails about the personal life of England's great historian. There is ittle book by Adams, called *Life Sketches of Macaulay*, interesting m its anecdotes and sketches of Macaulay's personal career. E. Whipple has written one of the ablest criticisms of Macaulay's aracteristics as an essayist which has ever been published. This icle, from which we quote elsewhere, and for which Macaulay pressed great admiration, can be found in the first volume of Whip-'s *Essays*. See also a scholarly essay by Peter Bayne; consult very l articles in "Allibone," the "Encyclopedia Britannica," and the merous references in Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature*.

NOTE.—As an introduction to the study of this essay, the student will do well read the whole or parts of Macaulay's article on Lord Clive, or the principal nts may be given orally by the teacher. A map of India, locating the chief ces of interest at the time of Clive and Hastings, should be drawn by the oils on the blackboard and elsewhere as progress is made in studying the ject. The *Student's Hume* and Green's *Short History of the English People* l prove of great help in explaining the historical and other references. Most of the larger "Speakers," compiled for school use, contain selections m the great orations delivered by Sheridan and Burke, during the trial of stings. Such extracts are of special interest in connection with the study of succeeding text.

Macaulay and his works.

TOPICS OF INQUIRY.

1. Give some details of Macaulay's early life. 2. Anecdotes illustrating h precocity. 3. Incidents showing his early love for books and reading. 4. Son details of his wonderful memory and his capacity for taking in at a glance t contents of a printed page. (Trevelyan's Life, Vol. I. ch. i.) 5. His career Cambridge University. 6. The study of law and his literary work for Knight *Quarterly Magazine*. 7. Incidents which led Macaulay to write his essay Milton for the *Edinburgh Review*—its success. 8. Mention the subjects Macaulay's most important essays contributed for many years to the same pe odical. 9. What are the chief characteristics of these celebrated essays? 1 What political honors were conferred upon Macaulay? 11. His appointment an office in India and his residence in that country. 12. His return to Engla and subsequent career in Parliament. 13. What fine martial ballads were pu lished in 1842? 14. When was his History first published?—its success? Give some details of the scope of this work. 16. What can you tell of Maca lay's career as a public speaker? 17. The death of the great historian in 185 18. Macaulay's style—its prominent characteristics? 19. What adverse cri cisms have been made on his writings? 20. How will you account for t remarkable popularity of all that Macaulay has written? 21. Personal life Macaulay—its chief characteristics? 22. Incidents and anecdotes to illustra the same. 23. Macaulay's opinion of famous men and books. (Cf. Trevelya

24. What led Macaulay to write the essays on Lord Clive and Warren Hasting 25. Give in outline a few points in the lives of these two celebrated men. Quote what Macaulay himself said about them. 27. Draw on the blackboa or elsewhere, a map of India, locating the places of interest as noted this essay. 28. Give in outline a few important events in the history India before the time of Hastings. 29. Work up in some detail the follow topics, giving in substance passages omitted in the succeeding pages: Nuncom Sir Philip Francis, Hyder Ali, and Impey, the infamous judge. 30. Topics collateral reading: Lord Clive, "Black Hole," East India Company, Mog Empire, Sheridan's Oration, Burke's Oration, Lord North, William Pitt, "T Junius Letters," British India, Critical State of the British Empire During t time of Hastings, Result of England's foreign policy on the American coloni 31. What criticisim has been made, and what can you make, on Macaula description of the trial of Hastings? 32. What do you think of Warr Hastings?—as a governor-general?—as a man? Give your reasons for such opinion.

WARREN HASTINGS.

"Macaulay's splendid biographies of Clive and Hastings, by much the finest productions of the kind in the English language."—*Alison.*

"Macaulay's faithful but brilliant studies (Lord Clive and Warren Hastings) of our Eastern empire are to this day incomparably the most popular of his works."—*Trevelyan.*

PREFATORY NOTE.

It was in India, on the spot, that Macaulay collected the facts which he worked up in so interesting and picturesque a manner in his essays on Lord Clive and Warren Hastings. The great essayist took special interest and pride in his India articles, and in his private correspondence says: "The paper on Lord Clive took greatly. That on Warren Hastings, though in my own opinion by no means equal to that on Clive, has been even more successful." Both of these able essays have been uniformly popular with the public. When published in separate forms, Clive and Hastings have sold nearly twice as well as the articles on the Earl of Chatham, nearly three times as well as the essay on Addison, and nearly five times as well as the article on Byron. In a letter written to the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, Macaulay outlined his proposed paper on Warren Hastings. It is interesting and instructive in connection with the study of the succeeding text. He says: "I am not quite sure that so vast a subject may not bear two articles. The scene of the first would lie principally in India. The Rohilla War, the disputes of Hastings and his Council, the character of Francis, the death of Nuncomar, the rise of the empire of Hyder Ali, the seizure of Benares, and many other interesting matters, would furnish out such a paper. In the second, the scene would be changed to Westminster. There we should have the Coalition; the India Bill; the impeachment; the characters of the noted men of that time, from Burke, who managed the prosecution of Hastings, down to the wretched Tony Pasquin, who first defended and then libeled him. I hardly know a

story so interesting, and of such various interests. And the central figure is in the highest degree striking and interesting. I think Warren Hastings, though far from faultless, one of the greatest men that England ever produced. He had pre-eminent talents for government and great literary attainments too; fine tastes, a princely spirit, and heroic equanimity in the midst of adversity and danger. "Mens aequa in arduis" (a mind serene amid difficulties) is the inscription under his picture in the Government Hall at Calcutta, and never was a more appropriate motto. The story has never been told as it deserves. The success of my paper on Clive has emboldened me." As a result of this literary correspondence, the essay on Warren Hastings was published in the *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1841. It has been universally admired for its style, of the greatest force and picturesqueness—full of allusion, illustration, grace, clearness and point.

His Early Life.—Warren Hastings sprang from an ancient and illustrious race. It has been affirmed that his pedigree can be traced back to the great Danish sea-king whose sails were long the terror of both coasts of the British Channel, and who, after many fierce and doubtful struggles, yielded at last to the valor and genius of Alfred. But the undoubted splendor of the line of Hastings needs no illustration from fable. One branch of that line wore, in the fourteenth century, the coronet of Pembroke. From another branch sprung the renowned Chamberlain, the faithful adherent of the White Rose, whose fate has furnished so striking a theme both to poets and

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NOTE.—The length of the entire essay on Warren Hastings is such that the Editor has been compelled to abridge the same. Several paragraphs of no special interest, certain sections of historical details and sundry passages criticising Mr. Gleig, the biographer of Hastings, have been omitted. The essay in its abridged form is complete in itself, and no part of Macaulay's language has in any respect been changed.

3. **Danish Sea-King:** Hasting or Hastings, a daring and successful Danish sea-king, defeated after many fierce conflicts by King Alfred, and driven out of England in 896.

6. **Alfred** (848 or 849-901): surnamed the Great, King of the West Saxons, afterward sovereign of all England. Consult Hughes's *Alfred the Great*, Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. 1, ch. ii, and Hume's *England*, vol. 1, ch. ii.

10. **White Rose:** The war of the Roses, between the Lancastrians (who chose the red rose as their emblem), and the Yorkists (who chose the white rose), began 1455 and ended 1485. See reference in Shakespeare, in I. *Henry VI.*, act ii., sc. 4. The contest between King Charles I. and Parliament resulted in a CIVIL WAR, which began when the king set up his standard at Nottingham (1642). It resulted in the execution of the king in 1649, and the establishment of the Commonwealth under the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell (1653).

to historians. His family received from the Tudors the earldom of Huntingdon, which, after a long dispossession, was regained in our time by a series of events scarcely paralleled in romance.

The lords of the manor of Daylesford, in Worcestershire, claimed to be considered as the heads of this distinguished family. The main stock, indeed, prospered less than some of the younger shoots. But the Daylesford family, though not ennobled, was wealthy and highly considered, till about two hundred years ago, it was overwhelmed by the great ruin of the civil war. The old seat at Daylesford still remained in the family; but it could no longer be kept up; and in the following generation it was sold to a merchant of London.

Before this transfer took place, the last Hastings of Daylesford had presented his second son to the rectory of the parish in which the ancient residence of the family stood. The living was of little value; and the situation of the poor clergyman, after the sale of the estate, was deplorable. He was constantly engaged in lawsuits about his tithes with the new lord of the manor, and was at length utterly ruined. His second son, Pynaston, an idle, worthless boy, married before he was sixteen, lost his wife in two years, and died in the West Indies, leaving to the care of his unfortunate father a little orphan, destined to strange and memorable vicissitudes of fortune.

Warren, the son of Pynaston, was born on the 6th of December, 1732. His mother died a few days later, and he was left dependent on his distressed grandfather. The child was early sent to the village school, where he learned his letters on the same bench with the sons of the peasantry. But no cloud could overcast the dawn of so much genius and so much ambition. The daily sight of the lands which his ancestors had possessed, and which had passed into the hands of strangers, filled his young brain with wild fancies and projects. He loved to hear stories of the wealth and greatness of his progenitors,

12. **Tudors:** The House of Tudor ruled England from the accession of Henry VII. to the death of Elizabeth in 1603.

of their splendid housekeeping, their loyalty, and their valor. On one bright summer day, the boy, then just seven years old, lay on the bank of the rivulet which flows through the old domain of his house to join the Isis. There, as threescore and ten years later he told the tale, rose in his mind a scheme which, through all the turns of his eventful career, was never abandoned. He would recover the estate which had belonged to his fathers. He would be Hastings of Daylesford. This purpose, formed in infancy and poverty, grew stronger as his intellect expanded and as his fortune rose. He pursued his plan with that calm but indomitable force of will which was the most striking peculiarity of his character. When, under a tropical sun, he ruled fifty millions of Asiatics, his hopes, amidst all the cares of war, finance, and legislation, still pointed to Daylesford. And when his long public life, so singularly checkered with good and evil, with glory and obloquy, had at length closed forever, it was to Daylesford that he retired to die.

When he was eight years old, his uncle Howard determined to take charge of him, and to give him a liberal education. The boy went up to London, and was sent to a school at Newington, where he was well taught, but ill fed. He always attributed the smallness of his stature to the hard and scanty fare of this seminary. At ten he was removed to Westminster school.

Warren was distinguished among his comrades as an excellent swimmer, boatman, and scholar. At fourteen he was first in the examination for the foundation. His name in gilded letters on the walls of the dormitory still attests his victory over many older competitors. He stayed two years longer at the school, and was looking forward to a studentship at Christ Church, when an event happened which changed the whole course of his life. Howard Hastings died, bequeathing his

70. **Westminster School:** A large school in London founded by Queen Elizabeth.

77. **Christ Church:** Largest of all the Oxford colleges, founded by Cardinal Wolsey in 1525.

nephew to the care of a friend and distant relation, named Chiswick. This gentleman, though he did not absolutely refuse the charge, was desirous to rid himself of it as soon as possible. He had it in his power to obtain for the lad a writership in the service of the East India Company. Whether the young adventurer, when once shipped off, made a fortune, or died of a liver complaint, he equally ceased to be a burden to anybody. Warren was accordingly removed from Westminster school, and placed for a few months at a commercial academy, to study arithmetic and book-keeping. In January, 1750, a few days after he had completed his seventeenth year, he sailed for Bengal, and arrived at his destination in the October following.

He was immediately placed at a desk in the Secretary's office at Calcutta, and labored there during two years.

After two years passed in keeping accounts at Calcutta, Hastings was sent up the country to Cossimbazar, a town which lies on the Hoogly, about a mile from Moorshedabad.

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82. **Writership:** The establishment of each principal and independent seat of trade, in India, consisted of *merchants*, senior and junior, who conducted the trade; *factors*, who ordered goods, inspected and dispatched them; and *writers*, who were clerks and book-keepers. A writer after five years became a factor, after three years more a merchant. From the senior merchants the members of council were chosen, and one of these last was selected as *president* of the factory. The place where the factor carried on business was called *factory*.

83. **East India Company:** The original charter of this company was granted to a number of London merchants by Queen Elizabeth in 1600. The limits were enormous, giving the exclusive right to trade in the whole of the Indian and Pacific oceans. The charter was renewed from time to time with various modifications. About 1612, the company obtained permission from several native princes to establish factories or agencies on the coast of Hindostan. The first beginning of Madras dates in 1640, of Calcutta in 1645, and of Bombay in 1665, as chief establishments of the company. In 1662, Charles II. gave permission to the company "to make war and peace on the native princes" a privilege of which it was not slow to avail itself for nearly two centuries. A constitution was established in 1702 which was maintained with little alteration as long as the company existed. The company obtained a renewal of its charter several times, but its powers was gradually lessened, until, by the act of 1858, the whole of the company's powers were transferred to the crown.

90. **Bengal:** At this time only the country between the Baglipoor and the sea was called Bengal. Now Bengal, or Lower Bengal, is the largest and most populous of the twelve great divisions of British India, and the province of Bengal is the eastern portion of Lower Bengal, and embraces more than one half the population and one third of the whole area.

93. **Calcutta:** Capital of British India and of Bengal, the largest emporium of trade in Asia, is situated on the Hoogly, eighty miles from the sea.

96. **Hoogly** or **Hooghly:** A branch of the Ganges at its delta. Two hun-

This was the abode of the prince who, by an authority ostensibly derived from the Mogul, but really independent, ruled the three great provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. Here, during several years, Hastings was employed in making bargains for stuffs with native brokers. While he was thus engaged, Surajah Dowlah succeeded to the government, and declared war against the English. The defenseless settlement of Cossimbazar, lying close to the tyrant's capital, was instantly seized. Hastings was sent a prisoner to Moorshedabad, but, in consequence of the humane intervention of the servants of the Dutch Company, was treated with indulgence. Meanwhile the nabob marched on Calcutta; the governor and the commandant fled; the town and citadel were taken, and most of the English prisoners perished in the Black Hole.

In these events originated the greatness of Warren Hastings. He soon established a high character for ability and resolution. He became a member of Council in 1761, returned to England in 1764, and remained at home four years. Of his life at this time very little is known. Hastings soon began to look again toward India. He had little to attach him to England, and his pecuniary embarrassments were great. The Directors appointed him a member of Council at Madras. In the spring of 1769, he embarked for India on board of the *Duke of Grafton*.

Read the full text for the romantic affair with a lady, "his elegant Marian," who, afterward as Hastings's wife, wielded great influence over her celebrated husband.

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dred miles long; its mouth is ten miles across. It is the only branch of the Ganges navigated by large vessels, and is the only one in the delta held sacred by the Hindoos.

98. **Mogul:** A corruption of *Mongol*, or *Mongolian*. The name commonly applied to the empire founded in Hindostan in the 15th century by Baber, a descendant of Timor or Tamerlane. Although not a Mongolian himself, Baber's empire became generally known in Europe as the **Mogul Empire**, and the reigning sovereign was popularly called "The Great Mogul." After the death of the great ruler, Aurungzebe, in 1707, the empire began to decline. The last sovereign died, a pensioner of England, in 1806.

99. **Bahar:** a province of Western Bengal. **Orissa,** a province to the south of Bengal, during Clive's rule.

110. **Black Hole:** This horrible catastrophe, by which the nabob caused the whole of the prisoners taken, 146 in number, to be confined in an apartment twenty feet square—the "Black Hole of Calcutta," took place on the night of the 18th of June, 1756. The room had only two small windows, and these were obstructed by a veranda. The crush of the unhappy sufferers was dreadful; and after a night of agony from pressure, heat, thirst, and want of air, there were in the morning only twenty-three survivors, the ghastliest forms ever seen on earth. Read Macaulay's famous pen picture of this atrocious deed in his "Lord Clive," beginning "Then was committed that great crime," etc.

State of Affairs in India.—Hastings found the affairs of the Company in a very disorganized state on his arrival. In a very few months he effected an important reform. The Directors notified to him their high approbation, and were so much pleased with his conduct that they determined to place him at the head of the Government of Bengal. Early in 1772 he quitted Fort St. George for his new post.

When Hastings took his seat at the head of the Council-Board, Bengal was still governed according to the system which Clive had devised. There were two governments, the real and the ostensible. The supreme power belonged to the Company, and was in truth the most despotic power that can be conceived.

There was still a nabob of Bengal who lived at Moorshedabad, surrounded by princely magnificence. He was approached with outward marks of reverence, and his name was used in public instruments. But in the government of the country he had less real share than the youngest writer or cadet in the Company's service.

The internal government of Bengal the English rulers delegated to a great native minister, who was stationed at Moorshedabad. All military affairs, and, with the exception of what pertains to mere ceremonial, all foreign affairs, were withdrawn from his control; but the other departments of the administration were entirely confided to him. His own stipend amounted

120. **Lord Clive** (1725-1774).—Founder of the British Empire in India, a skillful general and sagacious statesman. Clive entered the service of the East India Company as ensign in 1747. By his courage and sagacity he rose rapidly to distinction. Returned to England in 1753 and sent back as governor of Port Saint David in 1755. The next year, Surajah Dowlah, Nabob of Bengal, captured the English garrison of Fort William and smothered them in the "Black Hole" of Calcutta. Clive was sent to avenge this outrage. The fate of India was decided at the battle of Plassey (1757), where Clive, with 3,000 men, defeated about 60,000 of the enemy. Surajah was deposed and put to death. After this victory, by which the British rule was firmly established in India, Clive was appointed governor of Bengal. In 1760, he returned to England, immensely rich and was raised to the Irish peerage as Lord Clive, Baron of Plassey. He was elected to Parliament and acquired great influence. Clive was sent to India in 1764, with supreme command, but returned in 1767. He was arraigned by the House for abusing his power in the acquisition of riches, but the charge was not sustained. He died by suicide in 1774. The reader is referred to Macaulay's masterly essay on "Lord Clive," as collateral reading in connection with the study of Warren Hastings.

to near a hundred thousand pounds sterling a year. The personal allowance of the nabob, amounting to more than three hundred thousand pounds a year, passed through the minister's hands, and was, to a great extent, at his disposal. The collection of the revenue, the administration of justice, the maintenance of order, were left to this high functionary ; and for the exercise of his immense power he was responsible to none but the British masters of the country.

A situation so important, lucrative, and splendid, was naturally an object of ambition to the ablest and most powerful natives. Clive had found it difficult to decide between conflicting pretensions. Two candidates stood out prominently from the crowd, each of them the representative of a race and of a religion.

One of these was Mahommed Reza Khan, a Mussulman of Persian extraction, able, active, religious after the fashion of his people, and highly esteemed by them.

His competitor was a Hindoo Brahmin, whose name has, by a terrible and melancholy event, been inseparably associated with that of Warren Hastings, the Maharajah Nuncomar.

Clive decided in favor of the first.

When Hastings became governor, Mahommed Reza Khan had held power seven years. Through the intrigues of Nuncomar, the Directors were influenced to order Hastings to arrest Reza Khan and make a strict inquiry into the whole administration of the province. This gave Hastings an opportunity to carry into effect what he had long planned to do—to dissolve the double government. The office of minister was abolished. The internal administration was transferred to the servants of the Company. The nabob was no longer to have even an ostensible share in the government ; but he was still to receive a considerable annual allowance, and to be surrounded with the state of sovereignty. Some important office was given to Nuncomar's son ; but the wily Hindoo soon found that Hastings had made a tool of him. It was natural that the governor should be from that time an object of the most intense hatred to the vindictive Brahmin. As yet, however, it was necessary to suppress such feelings. The time was coming when that long animosity was to end in a desperate and deadly struggle.

Extortion of Money.—In the meantime, Hastings was compelled to turn his attention to foreign affairs. The object of his diplomacy was at this time simply to get money. The

finances of his government were in an embarrassed state; and this embarrassment he was determined to relieve by some means, fair or foul. One thing, indeed, is to be said in excuse for him. The pressure applied to him by his employers at home was such as only the highest virtue could have withstood, such as left him no choice except to commit great wrongs, or to resign his high post, and with that post all his hopes of fortune and distinction. The Directors, it is true, never enjoined or applauded any crime. Far from it. Whoever examines their letters written at that time will find there many just and humane sentiments, many excellent precepts—in short, an admirable code of political ethics.

Hastings saw that it was absolutely necessary for him to disregard either the moral discourses or the pecuniary requisitions of his employers. Being forced to disobey them in something, he had to consider what kind of disobedience they would most readily pardon; and he correctly judged that the safest course would be to neglect the sermons and to find the rupees.

A mind so fertile as his, and so little restrained by conscientious scruples, speedily discovered several modes of relieving the financial embarrassments of the Government. The allowance of the Nabob of Bengal was reduced at a stroke from three hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year to half that sum. The Company had bound itself to pay near three hundred thousand pounds a year to the Great Mogul, as a mark of homage for the provinces which he had intrusted to their care, and they had ceded to him the districts of Corah and Allahabad. On the plea that the Mogul was not really independent, but merely a tool in the hands of others, Hastings determined to retract these concessions. He accordingly declared that the English would pay no more tribute, and sent troops to occupy Allahabad and Corah. The situation of these places was such that there would be little advantage and great expense in re-

177. **Rupees.**—The rupee is an Indian silver coin, worth at this time about two shillings.

186. **Corah** and **Allahabad.**—Districts and cities in the north-west provinces of India, about 500 miles N. W. from Calcutta.

taining them. Hastings, who wanted money and not territory, determined to sell them. A purchaser was not wanting. The rich province of Oude had, in the general dissolution of the Mogul Empire, fallen to the share of the great Mussulman house by which it is still governed. The Prince of Oude, though he held the power, did not venture to use the style of sovereignty. To the appellation of nabob * or viceroy he added that of vizier of the monarchy of Hindostan. Sujah Dowlah, then nabob vizier, was on excellent terms with the English. He had a large treasure. Allahabad and Corah were so situated that they might be of use to him, and could be of none to the Company. The buyer and seller soon came to an understanding ; and the provinces which had been torn from the Mogul were made over to the Government of Oude for about half a million sterling.

Subjugation of the Brave Rohillas.—But there was another matter still more important to be settled by the vizier and the governor. The fate of a brave people was to be decided. It was decided in a manner which has left a lasting stain on the fame of Hastings and of England.

The people of Central Asia had always been to the inhabitants of India what the warriors of the German forests were to the subjects of the decaying monarchy of Rome. The dark, slender, and timid Hindoo shrunk from a conflict with the strong muscle and resolute spirit of the fair race which dwelt beyond the passes.

The Emperors of Hindostan themselves came from the other side of the great mountain ridge ; and it had always been their practice to recruit their army from the hardy and valiant race from which their own illustrious house sprung. Among the military adventurers who were allured to the Mogul standards

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195. **Oude.**—A rich and prosperous province of India, N. W. of Bengal and south of the Himalaya mountains.

* The word nabob is from the Hindoo, *nawab*, a deputy, or a governor, under the Mogul empire. Originally, "a native prince," but the word came to be applied to any European who had amassed wealth in the East. Cf. an amusing passage toward the end of Macaulay's essay on Lord Clive.

from the neighborhood of Cabul and Candahar, were conspicuous several gallant bands, known by the name of the Rohillas. Their services had been rewarded with large tracts of land in that fertile plain through which the Ramgunga flows from the snowy heights of Kumaon to join the Ganges. The Rohillas were distinguished from the other inhabitants of India by a peculiarly fair complexion. They were more honorably 23c
distinguished by courage in war, and by skill in the arts of peace. While anarchy raged from Lahore to Cape Comorin, their little territory enjoyed the blessings of repose under the guardianship of valor. Agriculture and commerce flourished among them, nor were they negligent of rhetoric and poetry.

Sujah Dowlah had set his heart on adding this rich district to his own principality. Right, or show of right, he had absolutely none. The Rohillas held their country by exactly the same title by which he held his, and had governed their country far better than his had ever been governed. Nor were they a 24a
people whom it was perfectly safe to attack. As soldiers, they had not the steadiness which is seldom found except in company with strict discipline, but their impetuous valor had been proved on many fields of battle. It was said that their chiefs, when united by common peril, could bring eighty thousand men into the field. Sujah Dowlah had himself seen them fight, and wisely shrunk from a conflict with them. There was in India one army, and only one, against which even those proud Caucasian tribes could not stand. It had been abundantly proved that neither tenfold odds, nor the martial ardor 25a
of the boldest Asiatic nations, could avail aught against English science and resolution. Was it possible to induce the Governor of Bengal to let out to hire the irresistible energies of the im-

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224. **Cabul.**—Written also Caboul, Cabool, and Kâbul. Capital of Afghanistan. **Candahar,** capital of Central Afghanistan, 200 miles S. W. of Cabul. These cities came into note during the recent war of England with the Afghans.

226. **Rohillas.**—Inhabitants of Rohilcund, a division of Northern India, having the Ganges on the west and south, Oude on the east, and the Himalayas on the north and north-east.

232. **Lahore.**—The capital city of the Punjab, and of the Lahore division and district.

perial people, the skill against which the ablest chiefs of Hindostan were helpless as infants?

This was what the nabob vizier asked, and what Hastings granted. A bargain was soon struck. Each of the negotiators had what the other wanted. Hastings was in need of funds to carry on the government of Bengal, and to send remittances to London, and Sujah Dowlah had an ample revenue. It was agreed that an English army should be lent to the nabob vizier, and that, for the loan, he should pay four hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides defraying all the charge of the troops while employed in his service.

The Rohillas expostulated, entreated, offered a large ransom, but in vain. They then resolved to defend themselves to the last. A bloody battle was fought. The dastardly sovereign of Oude fled from the field. The English were left unsupported, but their fire and their charge were irresistible. It was not, however, till the most distinguished chiefs had fallen, fighting bravely at the head of their troops, that the Rohilla ranks gave way.

Then the horrors of Indian war were let loose on the fair valleys and cities of Rohilcund. The whole country was in a blaze. More than a hundred thousand people fled from their homes to pestilential jungles, preferring famine, and fever, and the haunts of tigers, to the tyranny of him to whom an English and a Christian government had, for shameful lucre, sold their substance, and their blood, and the honor of their wives and daughters.

We hasten to the end of this sad and disgraceful story. The war ceased. The finest population in India was subjected to a greedy, cowardly, cruel tyrant. Commerce and agriculture languished. The rich province which had tempted the cupidity of Sujah Dowlah became the most miserable part even of his miserable dominions.

Whatever we may think of the morality of Hastings, it cannot be denied that the financial results of his policy did honor to his talents. In less than two years after he assumed

the government, he had, without imposing any additional 290
burdens on the people subject to his authority, added about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds to the annual income of the Company, besides procuring about a million in ready money. He had also relieved the finances of Bengal from military expenditure, amounting to near a quarter of a million a year, and had thrown that charge on the Nabob of Oude. There can be no doubt that this was a result which, if it had been obtained by honest means, would have entitled him to the warmest gratitude of his country, and which, by whatever means obtained, proved that he possessed great talents for 300
administration.

In the mean time Parliament had been engaged in long and grave discussions on Asiatic affairs. The ministry of Lord North, in the session of 1773, introduced a measure which made a considerable change in the constitution of the Indian Government. This law, known by the name of the Regulating Act, provided that the Presidency of Bengal should exercise a control over the other possessions of the Company; that the chief of that presidency should be styled governor-general; that he should be assisted by four councillors; and that a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a chief-justice and three inferior judges, should be established at Calcutta. This court was made independent of the governor-general and Council, and was intrusted with a civil and criminal jurisdiction of immense and, at the same time, of undefined extent.

The Governor-general and councillors were named in the act, and were to hold their situations for five years. Hastings was to be the first governor-general.

The ablest of the new councillors was, beyond all doubt, Philip Francis, who, it is claimed by the best authorities, wrote the famous "Junius" letters. Macaulay at this place in the essay interpolates a long but interesting discussion of the authorship of these letters.

With the three new councillors came out the judges of the Supreme Court. The chief-justice was Sir Elijah Impey. He was an old acquaintance of Hastings; and it is probable that the governor-general, if he had searched through all the inns of court, could not have found an equally serviceable tool.

It is not necessary to allude to the bitter quarrels which took place between Hastings and his supporters on the one side, and Francis and his friends on the other. Hastings was in the minority. The natives soon found it out. Charges against the governor-general began to pour in. Nuncomar saw his opportunity to be avenged upon his old enemy. He made serious charges against Hastings, who was now in a most painful situation, and forced to place his resignation in the hands of a trusty agent in London. It was not safe to drive to despair a man of such resource and of such determination as Hastings. It will be remembered that the Supreme Court was, within the sphere of its own duties, altogether independent of the government. Hastings, with his

usual sagacity, had seen how much advantage he might derive from possessing himself of this stronghold, and he had acted accordingly. The judges, especially the chief-justice, were hostile to the majority of the Council. The time had now come for putting this formidable machinery into action.

Execution of Nuncomar.—On a sudden, Calcutta was astounded by the news that Nuncomar had been taken up on a charge of felony, committed, and thrown into a common jail. The crime imputed to him was that six years before he had forged a bond. The ostensible prosecutor was a native. But it was then, and still is, the opinion of everybody, idiots and biographers excepted, that Hastings was the real mover in the business.

The rage of the majority rose to the highest point. They protested against the proceedings of the Supreme Court, and sent several urgent messages to the judges demanding that Nuncomar should be admitted to bail. The judges returned haughty and resolute answers. In the mean time the assizes commenced: a true bill was found, and Nuncomar was brought before Sir Elijah Impey and a jury composed of Englishmen. A great quantity of contradictory swearing, and the necessity of having every word of the evidence interpreted, protracted the trial to a most unusual length. At last a verdict of guilty was returned, and the chief-justice pronounced sentence of death on the prisoner.

The excitement among all classes was great. Francis, and Francis's few English adherents, described the governor-general and the chief-justice as the worst of murderers. Clavering, it was said, swore that, even at the foot of the gallows, Nuncomar should be rescued. The bulk of the European society, though strongly attached to the Governor-general, could

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303. **Nuncomar.**—Macaulay devotes considerable space to a detailed description of this wily Hindoo chief. The text is here omitted.

322. **Sir Philip Francis** (1740–1818).—An eminent English statesman, appointed a member of the Supreme Council of Bengal in 1773, when Hastings was President. He was the leader of the party which opposed Hastings, and took a prominent part in the great trial. He is generally believed to be the author of the famous "Junius Letters," although he always denied the charge. Brougham and Macaulay believed that Francis was "Junius."

not but feel compassion for a man who, with all his crimes, had so long filled so large a space in their sight, who had been great and powerful before the British Empire in India began to exist. The feeling of the Hindoos was infinitely stronger. They were, indeed, not a people to strike one blow for their countryman. But his sentence filled them with sorrow and dismay. Tried even by their low standard of morality, he was a bad man. But, bad as he was, he was the head of their race and religion, a Brahmin of the Brahmins. He had inherited the purest and highest caste. He had practised with the greatest punctuality all those ceremonies to which the superstitious Bengalees ascribe far more importance than to the correct discharge of the social duties. According to their old national laws, a Brahmin could not be put to death for any crime whatever.

The day drew near; and Nuncomar prepared himself to die with that quiet fortitude with which the Bengalee, so effeminately timid in personal conflict, often encounters calamities for which there is no remedy. The sheriff, with the humanity which is seldom wanting in an English gentleman, visited the prisoner on the eve of the execution, and assured him that no indulgence consistent with the law should be refused to him. Nuncomar expressed his gratitude with great politeness and unaltered composure. Not a muscle of his face moved; not a sigh broke from him. The sheriff withdrew, greatly agitated by what had passed, and Nuncomar sat composedly down to write notes and examine accounts.

The next morning, before the sun was in his power, an immense concourse assembled round the place where the gallows had been set up. Grief and horror were on every face; yet to the last the multitude could hardly believe that the English really purposed to take the life of the great Brahmin. At length the mournful procession came through the crowd. Nuncomar

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336. **Brahmin** (Sanskrit, *Brahman*, Bramin, and first deity of the Hindoo triad, the creator of the world, Brahmâ). A person of the upper and sacerdotal caste among the Hindoos.

sat up in his palanquin, and looked around him with unaltered serenity. He had just parted from those who were most nearly connected with him. Their cries and contortions had appalled the European ministers of justice, but had not produced the smallest effect on the iron stoicism of the prisoner. The only anxiety which he expressed was that men of his own priestly caste might be in attendance to take charge of his corpse. He again desired to be remembered to his friends in the Council, mounted the scaffold with firmness, and gave the signal to the executioner. The moment that the drop fell a howl of sorrow and despair rose from the innumerable spectators. Hundreds turned away their faces from the polluting sight, fled with loud wailings toward the Hoogly, and plunged into its holy waters, as if to purify themselves from the guilt of having looked on such a crime. These feelings were not confined to Calcutta. The whole province was greatly excited; and the population of Dacca, in particular, gave strong signs of grief and dismay.

While we have not the least doubt that this memorable execution is to be attributed to Hastings, we doubt whether it can with justice be reckoned among his crimes. That his conduct was dictated by a profound policy is evident. He was in a minority in Council. It was possible that he might long be in a minority. He knew the native character well. He knew in what abundance accusations are certain to flow in against the most innocent inhabitant of India who is under the frown of power. Under these circumstances, the persecuted statesman resolved to teach the whole crew of accusers and witnesses that, though in a minority at the Council-board, he was still to be feared. The lesson which he gave them was indeed a lesson not to be forgotten. The head of the combination which had

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377. **Dacca.**—A division, district, and city of Bengal on the Lower Ganges. The city of Dacca is 155 miles N. E. of Calcutta.

Note.—It is a remarkable circumstance that one of the letters of Hastings to Dr. Johnson bears date a very few hours after the death of Nuncomar. While the whole settlement was in commotion, while a mighty and ancient priesthood were weeping over the remains of their chief, the conqueror in that deadly grapple sat down, with characteristic self-possession, to write about the "Tour to the Hebrides," Jones's "Persian Grammar," and the history, traditions, arts, and natural productions of India.—*Macaulay.*

been formed against him, the richest, the most powerful, the most artful of the Hindoos, distinguished by the favor of those who then held the government, fenced round by the superstitious reverence of millions, was hanged in broad day before many thousands of people. From that moment the conviction of every native was that it was safer to take the part of Hastings in a minority than that of Francis in a majority; and that he who was so venturous as to join in running down the governor-general might chance, in the phrase of the Eastern poet, to find a tiger while beating the jungle for a deer. The voices of a 400
thousand informers were silenced in an instant. From that time, whatever difficulties Hastings might have to encounter, he was never molested by accusations from natives of India.

In the meantime, the Directors took part with the majority, and censured Hastings. An unsuccessful attempt was made to displace him. Hastings's agent produced the letter of resignation, and Mr. Wheeler was sent out to succeed the Governor-general. By the death of an opponent in the Council and an appeal to the Supreme Court, Hastings meanwhile had regained the casting vote and full supremacy. England now became involved in foreign wars, and her public interests were exposed to such fearful dangers in every quarter that all designs against Hastings were dropped, and he was quietly reappointed for another term of five years. The remarkable executive ability and energy of the Governor-general were of incalculable service to his country in this crisis of affairs in India. The dangers of the Empire induced both Hastings and Francis to forget for the time their private enmities, and to co-operate heartily for the general good.

Reign of Terror.—Harmony, indeed, was never more necessary; for at this moment internal calamities, more formidable than war itself, menaced Bengal. The authors of the Regulating Act of 1773 had established two independent powers—the one judicial, the other political; and with a carelessness scandalously common in English legislation, had omitted to define the limits of either. The judges took advantage of the 410
indistinctness, and attempted to draw to themselves supreme authority, not only within Calcutta, but through the whole of the great territory subject to the Presidency of Fort William. The strongest feelings of our nature—honor, religion, female modesty—rose up against the innovation. Arrest on mesne proc-

ess was the first step in most civil proceedings: and to a native of rank arrest was not merely a restraint, but a foul personal indignity. That the apartments of a woman of quality should be entered by strange men, or that her face should be seen by them, are, in the East, intolerable outrages—outrages which are more dreaded than death, and which can be expiated only by the shedding of blood. To these outrages the most distinguished families of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa were now exposed. A reign of terror began, of terror heightened by mystery; for even that which was endured was less horrible than that which was anticipated. No man knew what was next to be expected from this strange tribunal. It came from beyond the black water—as the people of India, with mysterious horror, call the sea. It consisted of judges not one of whom was familiar with the usages of the millions over whom they claimed boundless authority. Its records were kept in unknown characters; its sentences were pronounced in unknown sounds. It had already collected round itself an army of the worst part of the native population: informers, and false witnesses, and common barrators, and agents of chicane. Many natives, highly considered among their countrymen, were seized, hurried up to Calcutta, flung into the common jail, not for any crime even imputed, not for any debt that had been proved, but merely as a precaution till their cause should come to trial. There were instances in which men of the most venerable dignity, persecuted without a cause by extortioners, died of rage and shame in the gripe of the vile alguazils of Impey.

The chief-justice proceeded to the wildest excesses. The Governor-general and all the Members of Council were served with writs, calling on them to appear before the king's justices, and to answer for their public acts. This was too much. Hastings, with just scorn, refused to obey the call, set at liberty the persons wrongfully detained by the court, and took

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442. **Alguazil** (Sp. *alguacil*).—An inferior officer of justice.

measures for resisting the outrageous proceedings of the sheriffs' 450
officers, if necessary, by the sword. But he had in view another device which might prevent the necessity of an appeal to arms. He was seldom at a loss for an expedient, and he knew Impey well. The expedient, in this case, was a very simple one—neither more nor less than a bribe. Impey was, by act of Parliament, a judge, independent of the Government of Bengal, and entitled to a salary of eight thousand a year. Hastings proposed to make him also a judge in the Company's service, removable at the pleasure of the Government of Bengal; and to give him, in that capacity, about eight thousand 460
a year more. It was understood that, in consideration of this new salary, Impey would desist from urging the high pretensions of his court. If he did urge these pretensions, the Government could, at a moment's notice, eject him from the new place which had been created for him. The bargain was struck; Bengal was saved; an appeal to force was averted; and the chief-justice was rich, quiet, and infamous.

A crisis now arrived with which Hastings alone was competent to deal. The English authorities in Southern India had provoked the great Hyder Ali to hostility without being prepared to repel it. An army of 90,000 well disciplined by French officers, came pouring down from the table-land of Mysore to the plains of Carnatic. Hyder was everywhere triumphant. Then it was that the fertile genius and serene courage of Hastings achieved their most signal triumph. Adopting a most vigorous policy, the Governor-general by his masterly movements in a few months retrieved the honor of the English arms. The financial embarrassment was extreme. A few years before this time Hastings had obtained relief by plundering the Mogul and enslaving the Rohillas, nor were the resources of his fruitful mind by any means exhausted. His first design was on Benares, a city which, in wealth, population, dignity, and sanctity, was among the foremost of Asia.

Plundering the Treasures of the Hindoo Prince, Cheyte Sing.—The English Government now chose to wring money out of Cheyte Sing. It had formerly been convenient to treat 470
him as a sovereign prince ; it was now convenient to treat him as a subject. Dexterity inferior to that of Hastings could easily find, in the general chaos of laws and customs, arguments for either course. Hastings wanted a great supply. It

was known that Cheyte Sing had a large revenue, and it was suspected that he had accumulated a treasure. Nor was he a favorite at Calcutta. He had, when the Governor-general was in great difficulties, courted the favor of Francis and Clavering. Hastings, who, less perhaps from evil passions than from policy, seldom left an injury unpunished, was not sorry that the fate of Cheyte Sing should teach neighboring princes the same lesson which the fate of Nuncomar had already impressed on the inhabitants of Bengal.

In 1778, on the first breaking out of the war with France, Cheyte Sing was called upon to pay, in addition to his fixed tribute, an extraordinary contribution of fifty thousand pounds. In 1779, an equal sum was exacted. In 1780, the demand was renewed.

The rajah, after the fashion of his countrymen, shuffled, solicited, and pleaded poverty. The grasp of Hastings was not to be so eluded. He added to the requisition another ten thousand pounds as a fine for delay, and sent troops to exact the money.

The money was paid. But this was not enough. The late events in the South of India had increased the financial embarrassments of the Company. Hastings was determined to plunder Cheyte Sing, and, for that end, to fasten a quarrel on him. Accordingly, the rajah was now required to keep a body of cavalry for the service of the British Government. He objected and evaded.

This was exactly what the Governor-general wanted. He had now a pretext for treating the wealthiest of his vassals as a criminal. The plan was simply this, to demand larger and larger contributions till the rajah should be driven to remonstrate, then to call his remonstrance a crime, and to punish him by confiscating all his possessions.

Cheyte Sing was in the greatest dismay. He offered two hundred thousand pounds to propitiate the British Government. But Hastings replied that nothing less than half a million would be accepted. Nay, he began to think of selling

Benares to Oude, as he had formerly sold Allahabad and Rohilcund. The matter was one which could not be well managed at a distance ; and Hastings resolved to visit Benares.

Cheyte Sing received his liege lord with every mark of reverence, came near sixty miles, with his guards, to meet and escort the illustrious visitor, and expressed his deep concern at the displeasure of the English. Having arrived at Benares, Hastings sent to the rajah a paper containing the demands of the Government of Bengal. The rajah, in reply, attempted to clear himself from the accusations brought against him. 520
Hastings, who wanted money and not excuses, was not to be put off by the ordinary artifices of Eastern negotiation. He instantly ordered the rajah to be arrested and placed under the custody of two companies of Sepoys.

In taking these strong measures, Hastings scarcely showed his usual judgment. He was now in a land far more favorable to the vigor of the human frame than the Delta of the Ganges ; in a land fruitful of soldiers who have been found worthy to follow English battalions to the charge and into the breach. The rajah was popular among his subjects. His administra- 530
tion had been mild; and the prosperity of the district which he governed presented a striking contrast to the depressed state of the provinces which were cursed by the tyranny of the nabob vizier. The national and religious prejudices with which the English were regarded throughout India were peculiarly intense in the metropolis of the Brahminical superstition. It can therefore scarcely be doubted that the Governor-general, before he outraged the dignity of Cheyte Sing by an arrest, ought to have assembled a force capable of bearing down all opposition. This had not been done. 540

The streets surrounding the palace were filled by an immense multitude, of whom a large proportion, as is usual in Upper India, wore arms. The tumult became a fight, and the fight a

513. **Benares.**—One of the most ancient and renowned cities of the world, situated on the river Ganges, 390 miles N. W. of Calcutta. It is the religious capital of the Hindoos and the chief centre of Brahminical learning. A division and district of India has the same name.

massacre. The English officers defended themselves with desperate courage against overwhelming numbers, and fell, as became them, sword in hand. The Sepoys were butchered. The gates were forced. The captive prince, neglected by his jailers during the confusion, discovered an outlet which opened on the precipitous bank of the Ganges, let himself down to the water by a string made of the turbans of his attendants, found a boat, and escaped to the opposite shore.

If Hastings had, by indiscreet violence, brought himself into a difficult and perilous situation, it is only just to acknowledge that he extricated himself with even more than his usual ability and presence of mind. He had only fifty men with him. The building in which he had taken up his residence was on every side blockaded by the insurgents. But his fortitude remained unshaken. The rajah from the other side of the river sent apologies and liberal offers. They were not even answered. Some subtle and enterprising men were found who undertook to pass through the throng of enemies, and to convey the intelligence of the late events to the English. Instructions for the negotiations were needed; and the Governor-general framed them in that situation of extreme danger with as much composure as if he had been writing in his palace at Calcutta.

The entire population of the district of Benares took arms. The fields were abandoned by the husbandmen, who thronged to defend their prince. The infection spread to Oude. Even Bahar was ripe for revolt. The hopes of Cheyte Sing began to rise. Instead of imploring mercy in the humble style of a vassal, he began to talk the language of a conqueror. But the English troops were now assembling fast. The officers, and even the private men, regarded the Governor-general with enthusiastic attachment, and flew to his aid with an alacrity

549. **Ganges** (Hindoo *Gunga*, or *Ganga*, so called as flowing through the *Gang*, the earth, to heaven). The principal river of India traversing the northwest provinces and Bengal. It enters the Gulf of Bengal by numerous mouths. The delta of the Ganges begins 200 miles from the sea. The valley of the Ganges is one of the richest on the globe. This river is 1,960 miles long, and is navigable for large boats for 1,500 miles from its mouth. Cf. A passage in Macaulay's "Lord Clive" for a graphic description of the valley of the Ganges.

which, as he boasted, had never been shown on any other occasion. The tumultuary army of the rajah was put to rout. His fastnesses were stormed. In a few hours, above thirty thousand men left his standard, and returned to their ordinary avocations. The unhappy prince fled from his country forever. His fair domain was added to the British dominions. 1780

By this revolution, an addition of two hundred thousand pounds a year was made to the revenues of the Company. But the immediate relief was not as great as had been expected. The treasure laid up by Cheyte Sing had been popularly estimated at a million sterling. It turned out to be about a fourth part of that sum ; and, such as it was, it was seized by the army, and divided as prize-money.

The Infamous Bargain with the Prince of Oude; Cruel Treatment of the Begums, or Princesses of Oude.—Disappointed in his expectation from Benares, Hastings was more 1790 violent than he would otherwise have been, in his dealings with Oude. Sujah Dowlah had long been dead. His son and successor, Asaph-ul-Dowlah, was one of the weakest and most vicious even of Eastern princes. His life was divided between torpid repose and the most odious forms of sensuality. It was only by the help of a British brigade that he could be secure from the aggressions of neighbors who despised his weakness, and from the vengeance of subjects who detested his tyranny. A brigade was furnished, and he engaged to defray the charge of paying and maintaining it. From that time his 1800 independence was at an end. Hastings was not a man to lose the advantage which he had thus gained. The nabob soon began to complain of the burden which he had undertaken to bear.

Hastings had intended, after settling the affairs of Benares, to visit Lucknow, and there to confer with Asaph-ul-Dowlah. But the obsequious courtesy of the nabob vizier prevented this visit. With a small train, he hastened to meet the Governor-

606. **Lucknow**.—For many years the capital of Oude, 580 miles N.W. of Calcutta. Renowned for its siege and defense against the Sepoys in 1857.

general. An interview took place in the fortress which, from the crest of the precipitous rock of Chunar, looks down on the waters of the Ganges.

At first sight it might appear impossible that the negotiation should come to an amicable close. Hastings wanted an extraordinary supply of money. Asaph-ul-Dowlah wanted to obtain a remission of what he already owed. Such a difference seemed to admit of no compromise. There was, however, one course satisfactory to both sides, one course by which it was possible to relieve the finances both of Oude and of Bengal ; and that course was adopted. It was simply this, that the Governor-general and the nabob vizier should join to rob a third party ; and the third party whom they determined to rob was the parent of one of the robbers.

The mother of the late nabob, and his wife, who was the mother of the present nabob, were known as the Begums or Princesses of Oude. They had possessed great influence over Sujah Dowlah, and had, at his death, been left in possession of a splendid dotation. The domains of which they received the rents and administered the government were of wide extent. The treasure hoarded by the late nabob, a treasure which was popularly estimated at near three millions sterling, was in their hands.

Asaph-ul-Dowlah had already extorted considerable sums from his mother. She had at length appealed to the English, and the English had interfered. A solemn compact had been made, by which she consented to give her son some pecuniary assistance, and he in his turn promised never to commit any further invasion of her rights. This compact was formally guaranteed by the Government of Bengal.

It was necessary to find some pretext for a confiscation inconsistent, not merely with plighted faith, not merely with the ordinary rules of humanity and justice, but also with the great law of filial piety. A pretext was the last thing that Hastings

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610. **Chunar.**—A town on the Ganges, 17 miles S.W. of Benares.

was likely to want. The insurrection at Benares had produced disturbances in Oude. These disturbances it was convenient to impute to the princesses. The accused were furnished with no charge ; they were permitted to make no defense ; for the Governor-general wisely considered that, if he tried them, he might not be able to find a ground for plundering them. It was agreed between him and the nabob vizier that the noble ladies should, by a sweeping act of confiscation, be stripped of 650
their domains and treasures for the benefit of the Company, and that the sums thus obtained should be accepted by the Government of Bengal in satisfaction of its claims on the Government of Oude.

While Asaph-ul-Dowlah was at Chunar, he was completely subjugated by the clear and commanding intellect of the English statesman ; but, when they had separated, the vizier began to reflect with uneasiness on the engagements into which he had entered. His mother and grandmother protested and implored. His heart, deeply corrupted by absolute power and 660
licentious pleasures, yet not naturally unfeeling, failed him in this crisis. Even the English resident at Lucknow, though hitherto devoted to Hastings, shrunk from extreme measures. But the Governor-general was inexorable. He wrote to the resident in terms of the greatest severity, and declared that, if the spoliation which had been agreed upon were not instantly carried into effect, he would himself go to Lucknow, and do that from which feebler minds recoiled with dismay. The resident, thus menaced, waited on his highness, and insisted that the treaty of Chunar should be carried into full and im- 670
mediate effect. Asaph-ul-Dowlah yielded, making at the same time a solemn protestation that he yielded to compulsion. The lands were resumed ; but the treasure was not so easily obtained. It was necessary to use violence. A body of the Company's troops marched to Fyzabad, and forced the gates of the palace. The princesses were confined to their own apartments.

675. **Fyzabad**.—Capital of Fyzabad, in Oude, 65 miles from Lucknow.

But still they refused to submit. Some more stringent mode of coercion was to be found. A mode was found of which, even at this distance of time, we cannot speak without shame and sorrow.

Sujah Dowlah had given his entire confidence to two eunuchs ; and after his death they remained at the head of the household of his widow.

These men were, by the orders of the British Goverment, seized, imprisoned, ironed, starved almost to death, in order to extort money from the princesses. Yet this was not the worst. It was resolved by an English Government that these two infirm old men should be delivered to the tormentors. For that purpose they were removed to Lucknow. What horrors their dungeon there witnessed can only be guessed.

While these barbarities were perpetrated at Lucknow, the princesses were still under duress at Fyzabad. Food was allowed to enter their apartments only in such scanty quantities that their female attendants were in danger of perishing with hunger. Month after month this cruelty continued, till at length, after twelve hundred thousand pounds had been wrung out of the princesses, Hastings began to think that he had really got to the bottom of their coffers, and that no rigor could extort more. Then at length the wretched men who were detained at Lucknow regained their liberty. When their irons were knocked off, and the doors of their prison opened, their quivering lips, the tears which ran down their cheeks, and the thanksgivings which they poured forth to the common Father of Mussulmans and Christians, melted even the stout hearts of the English warriors who stood by.

The state of India had for some time occupied much of the attention of the British Parliament. Two committees of the Commons sat on Eastern affairs. In the one Edmund Burke took the lead. The other was under the presidency of the able and versatile Henry Dundas, then Lord Advocate of Scotland. Their reports breathed the spirit of stern and indignant justice. The severest epithets were applied to several of the measures of Hastings. It was resolved that the Company ought to recall a governor-general who had brought such calamities upon the Indian people, and such dishonor on the British name. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was limited, and Impey was

recalled. The Company resolutely refused to dismiss Hastings from their service. Thus supported, Hastings remained at the head of the government of Bengal till the spring of 1785. His administration, so eventful and stormy, closed in almost perfect quiet.

General Review of the Administration of Hastings.—On a general review of the long administration of Hastings, it is impossible to deny that, against the great crimes by which it is blemished, we have to set off great public services. England had passed through a perilous crisis. In every part of the 710
world, except one, she had been a loser. The only quarter of the world in which Britain had lost nothing was the quarter in which her interests had been committed to the care of Hastings. In spite of the utmost exertions both of European and Asiatic enemies, the power of our country in the East had been greatly augmented.

His internal administration, with all its blemishes, gives him a title to be considered as one of the most remarkable men in our history. He dissolved the double government. He transferred the direction of affairs to English hands. Out of a 720
frightful anarchy, he reduced at least a rude and imperfect order. The whole organization by which justice was dispensed, revenue collected, peace maintained throughout a territory not inferior in population to the dominions of Louis the Sixteenth or of the Emperor Joseph, was formed and superintended by him. He boasted that every public office, without exception, which existed when he left Bengal, was his creation. Whoever seriously considers what it is to construct from the beginning the whole of a machine so vast and complex as a government, will allow that what Hastings effected deserves 730
high admiration.

The just fame of Hastings rises still higher, when we reflect that he was not bred a statesman ; that he was sent from school to a counting-house ; and that he was employed during the

724. **Louis the Sixteenth** (1754, executed 1793).—King of France and husband of Maria Antoinette.

725. **Emperor Joseph** (1741-1790).—Joseph II., Emperor of Germany, son of Maria Theresa, of Austria.

prime of his manhood as a commercial agent, far from all intellectual society.

Nor must we forget that all, or almost all, to whom, when placed at the head of affairs, he could apply for assistance, were persons who owed as little as himself, or less than himself, to education. A minister in Europe finds himself, on the first day on which he commences his functions, surrounded by experienced public servants, the depositaries of official traditions. Hastings had no such help. His own reflection, his own energy, were to supply the place of all Downing Street and Somerset House.

It must be added that, while engaged in this most arduous task, he was constantly trammeled by orders from home, and frequently borne down by a majority in Council. The preservation of an empire from a formidable combination of foreign enemies, the construction of a government in all its parts, were accomplished by him, while every ship brought out bales of censure from his employers, and while the records of every consultation were filled with acrimonious minutes by his colleagues. We believe that there never was a public man whose temper was so severely tried.

But the temper of Hastings was equal to almost any trial. It was not sweet; but it was calm. Quick and vigorous as his intellect was, the patience with which he endured the most cruel vexations, till a remedy could be found, resembled the patience of stupidity. He seems to have been capable of resentment, bitter and long enduring; yet his resentment so seldom hurried him into any blunder, that it may be doubted whether what appeared to be revenge was anything but policy.

The effect of this singular equanimity was that he always had the full command of all the resources of one of the most fertile minds that ever existed. Accordingly, no complication

744. **Downing Street.**—The principal building in this street of London was given by George I. to Sir Robert Walpole, who accepted it for his office of First Lord of the Treasury. It has since been the official residence of successive prime ministers, and has given celebrity to the street in which it stands.

745. **Somerset House.**—A building in the Strand, London, devoted to the accommodation of government and semi-public offices.

of perils and embarrassments could perplex him. For every difficulty he had a contrivance ready ; and, whatever may be thought of the justice and humanity of some of his contrivances, it is certain that they seldom failed to serve the pur- 770
pose for which they were designed.

Together with this extraordinary talent for devising expedients, Hastings possessed, in a very high degree, another talent scarcely less necessary to a man in his situation ; we mean the talent for conducting political controversy. Of the numerous servants of the Company who have distinguished themselves as framers of minutes and dispatches, Hastings stands at the head. He was indeed the person who gave to the official writing of the Indian governments the character which it still retains. He was matched against no common antagonist. But 780
even Francis was forced to acknowledge, with sullen and resentful candor, that there was no contending against the pen of Hastings. And, in truth, the Governor-general's power of making out a case, of perplexing what it was inconvenient that people should understand, and of setting in the clearest point of view whatever would bear the light, was incomparable.

And, since we have referred to his literary tastes, it would be most unjust not to praise the judicious encouragement which, as a ruler, he gave to liberal studies and curious researches. His patronage was extended, with prudent gener- 790
osity, to voyages, travels, experiments, publications. In Persian and Arabic literature he was deeply skilled. It was under his protection that the Asiatic Society commenced its honorable career.

He was the first foreign ruler who succeeded in gaining the confidence of the hereditary priests of India, and who induced them to lay open to English scholars the secrets of the old Brahminical theology and jurisprudence.

It is indeed impossible to deny that, in the great art of inspiring large masses of human beings with confidence and at- 800
tachment, no ruler ever surpassed Hastings. What is peculiar to him is that, being the chief of a small band of strangers

who exercised boundless power over a great indigenous population, he made himself beloved both by the subject many and by the dominant few. The affection felt for him by the civil service was singularly ardent and constant. Through all his disasters and perils, his brethren stood by him with steadfast loyalty. The army, at the same time, loved him as armies have seldom loved any but the greatest chiefs who have led them to victory. Even in his disputes with distinguished military men, he could always count on the support of the military profession. While such was his empire over the hearts of his countrymen, he enjoyed among the natives a popularity such as other governors have perhaps better merited, but such as no other governor has been able to attain. He spoke their vernacular dialects with facility and precision. He was intimately acquainted with their feelings and usages. On one or two occasions, for great ends, he deliberately acted in defiance of their opinion ; but on such occasions he gained more in their respect than he lost in their love. In general, he carefully avoided all that could shock their national or religious prejudices. The first English conquerors had been more rapacious and merciless even than the Mahrattas ; but that generation had passed away. For the first time within living memory, the province was placed under a government strong enough to prevent others from robbing, and not inclined to play the robber itself. These things inspired good-will. At the same time, the constant success of Hastings, and the manner in which he extricated himself from every difficulty, made him an object of superstitious admiration ; and the more than regal splendor which he sometimes displayed dazzled a people who have much in common with children. Even now, after the lapse of more than fifty years, the natives of India still talk of him as the greatest of the English; and nurses sing children to sleep with

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823. **Mahrattas.**—Inhabitants of the principal states of Central India. The Mahratta Confederation extended at one time in the 18th century from the province of Agra to Cape Comorin, but its power was soon afterward broken by the British.

a jingling ballad about the fleet horses and richly caparisoned elephants of Sahib Warren Hostein.

Hastings arrived home in June, 1785. He was treated by the king with marked distinction. It is clear, however, that he was not sensible of the danger of his position. Macaulay gives in detail the errors made by this wily and sagacious statesman, and by which he was brought to the verge of ruin. In spite of many and serious mistakes, the general aspect of affairs was favorable to Hastings. The king was on his side. The Company and its servants were zealous in his cause. Among public men he had many ardent friends. From the ministry Hastings had every reason to expect support; and the ministry was very powerful. The opposition was loud and vehement against him. But the opposition, though formidable from the wealth and influence of some of its members, and from the admirable talents and eloquence of others, was outnumbered in Parliament, and odious throughout the country. But there were two men whose indignation was not to be so appeased, Philip Francis and Edmund Burke. Francis had recently entered the House of Commons, and had already established a character there for industry and ability. Neither lapse of years nor change of scene had mitigated the enmities which Francis had brought back from the East. The zeal of Burke was still fiercer; but it was far purer. The succeeding description of Burke is one of the most graphic passages to be found in Macaulay's writings.

Edmund Burke.—His knowledge of India was such as few, even of those Europeans who have passed many years in that country, have attained, and such as certainly was never attained by any public man who had not quitted Europe. He 840
had studied the history, the laws, and the usages of the East with an industry such as is seldom found united to so much genius and so much sensibility. Others have perhaps been equally laborious, and have collected an equal mass of materials; but the manner in which Burke brought his higher powers of intellect to work on statements of facts and on tables of figures was peculiar to himself. In every part of those huge bales of Indian information which repelled almost all other readers, his mind, at once philosophical and poetical, found something to instruct or to delight. His reason analyzed 850
and digested those vast and shapeless masses; his imagination

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845. **Edmund Burke** (1730–1797).—Orator and statesman, distinguished over all the great men of his time for eloquence and political foresight. The trial of Hastings closed with another great and splendid oration by Burke, lasting over nine days.

animated and colored them. Out of darkness, and dullness, and confusion, he formed a multitude of ingenious theories and vivid pictures. He had, in the highest degree, that noble faculty whereby man is able to live in the past and in the fufure, in the distant and in the unreal. India and its inhabitants were not to him, as to most Englishmen, mere names and abstractions, but a real country and a real people. The burning sun ; the strange vegetation of the palm and the cocoa tree; the rice-field ; the tank ; the huge trees, older than the Mogul Empire, under which the village crowds assemble; the thatched roof of the peasant's hut ; the rich tracery of the mosque where the imaum prays with his face to Mecca ; the drums, and banners, and gaudy idols ; the devotee swinging in the air ; the graceful maiden, with the pitcher on her head, descending the steps to the river side ; the black faces ; the long beards ; the yellow streaks of sect ; the turbans and the flowing robes, the spears and the silver maces ; the elephants with their canopies of state ; the gorgeous palanquin of the prince, and the close litter of the noble lady—all these things were to him as the objects amidst which his own life had been passed, as the objects which lay on the road between Beaconsfield and St. James's Street. All India was present to the eye of his mind, from the halls where suitors laid gold and perfumes at the feet of sovereigns to the wild moor where the gypsy camp was pitched, from the bazaar, humming like a beehive with the crowd of buyers and sellers, to the jungle where the lonely courier shakes his bunch of iron rings to scare away the hyenas. He had just as lively an idea of the insurrection at Benares as of Lord George Gordon's riots, and of the execution of Nuncomar as of the execution of Dr.

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863. **Mecca.**—A renowned city of Arabia, the chief seat of the Mohammedan religion.

873. **Beaconsfield.**—A town 23 miles from London. **St. James's Street.**—A fashionable thoroughfare of London.

880. **Lord George Gordon** (1750–1793).—The leader of a great mob which plundered and pillaged about London in 1780. Gordon was tried for high treason, but acquitted. He died in prison in 1793. A graphic description of these riots is worked into the plot of Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge.*

Dodd. Oppression in Bengal was to him the same thing as oppression in the streets of London.*

Hastings, so politic and successful in the East, committed nothing but blunders in Europe. Macaulay says that extreme measures against him would not have been adopted, if his own conduct had been judicious. Both Hastings and his agent were impatient for the rewards which, as they conceived, were deferred only till Burke's attack should be over. The opposition was forced to pledge itself to a prosecution. On the 13th of June, 1786, Mr. Fox brought forward, with great ability and eloquence, the charge respecting the treatment of Cheyte Sing. To the astonishment of every one, Mr. Pitt supported Mr. Fox's motion, from jealousy, it is said, of the great power wielded by Hastings. Mr. Fox's motion was carried by a large majority. The opposition, flushed with victory and strongly supported by the public sympathy, proceeded to bring forward a succession of charges relating chiefly to pecuniary transactions. The friends of Hastings were discouraged, and having now no hope of being able to avert an impeachment, were not very strenuous in their exertions. At length the House, having agreed to twenty articles of charge, directed Burke to go before the Lords, and to impeach the late governor-general of high crimes and misdemeanors. Hastings was at the same time arrested by the sergeant-at-arms, and carried to the bar of the Peers.

The session was now within ten days of its close. It was, therefore, impossible that any progress could be made in the trial till the next year. Hastings was admitted to bail; and further proceedings were postponed till the Houses should reassemble.

The Famous Trial of Warren Hastings.

In the mean time, the preparations for the trial had proceeded rapidly; and on the 13th of February, 1788, the sittings of the court commenced. There have been spectacles more dazzling to the eye, more gorgeous with jewelry and cloth of gold, more attractive to grown-up children, than that which was then exhibited at Westminster; but, perhaps, there never was a spectacle so well calculated to strike a highly cultivated, a reflect- 89c
ing, an imaginative mind. All the various kinds of interest which belong to the near and to the distant, to the present and to the past, were collected on one spot and in one hour.

882. **William Dodd, D.D.** (1729-1777).—A fashionable and eloquent preacher of London, chaplain to the king, and an author of some note. Dodd's *Beauties of Shakespeare* is still known. He was convicted of forgery and hung in 1777.

* "This passage, unsurpassed as it is in force of language and splendid fidelity of detail by anything that Macaulay ever wrote or uttered, was inspired by sincere and entire sympathy with that great statesman of whose humanity and breadth of view it is the merited, and not inadequate, panegyric."—*Trevelyan.*

All the talents and all the accomplishments which are developed by liberty and civilization were now displayed, with every advantage that could be derived both from co-operation and from contrast. Every step in the proceedings carried the mind either backward, through many troubled centuries, to the days when the foundations of our constitution were laid; or far away, over boundless seas and deserts, to dusky nations living under strange stars, worshipping strange gods, and writing strange characters from right to left. The High Court of Parliament was to sit, according to forms handed down from the days of the Plantagenets, on an Englishman accused of exercising tyranny over the lord of the holy city of Benares, and over the ladies of the princely house of Oude.

The place was worthy of such a trial. It was the great hall of William Rufus, the hall which had resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings, the hall which had witnessed the just sentence of Bacon and the just absolution of Somers, the hall where the eloquence of Strafford had for a moment awed and melted a victorious party inflamed with just resentment, the hall where Charles had confronted

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904. The **Plantagenets,** whose name was derived from the *planta genista*, the Spanish broom-plant, a sprig of which was commonly worn by Geoffrey, the father of Henry II., reigned over England for more than three centuries, and to this family all the English monarchs belonged from Henry II. to Richard III. (1154-1485). In the long and prosperous reign of Edward III. (1327-1377), the three essential principles of the English government, as Hallam calls them, were established upon a firm footing. The third was the right of the Commons to inquire into public abuses, and to impeach public counsellors.

908. **William Rufus.**—William II. (1087-1100), surnamed *Rufus*, or the *Red*, from the color of his hair, erected Westminster Hall, which still remains a noble specimen of the architecture of the time.

910. The celebrated **Lord Bacon** was impeached for taking bribes and other corrupt practices. He was sentenced to pay a fine of £40,000, to be imprisoned in the Tower, and to be forever incapable of any office, place or employment. In consideration of his great merit, the king soon released him from the Tower, remitted his fine and other parts of his sentence.

911. **Lord Somers**, Lord Chancellor in the reign of William III., was impeached for alleged illegal practices, but through an irreconcilable difference between the Commons and the Lords as to the mode of proceeding, was acquitted.

911. **The Earl of Strafford** was impeached and tried on a charge of treason in Westminster Hall. He gained many friends by the eloquence of his defense. Strafford was afterward tried by a "bill of attainder," condemned to death, and beheaded in 1641.

913. **Charles I.** was impeached as "a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the Commonwealth," and brought to trial before the high Court of Justice assembled in Westminster Hall, in 1649. With great temper

the High Court of Justice with the placid courage which has half redeemed his fame. Neither military nor civil pomp was wanting. The avenues were lined with grenadiers. The streets were kept clear by cavalry. The peers, robed in gold and ermine, were marshalled by the heralds under Garter King-at-arms. The judges, in their vestments of state, attended to give advice on points of law. Near a hundred and seventy 920
lords, three-fourths of the Upper House as the Upper House then was, walked in solemn order from their usual place of assembling to the tribunal. The junior baron present led the way, Lord Heathfield, recently ennobled for his memorable defense of Gibraltar against the fleets and armies of France and Spain. The long procession was closed by the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of the realm, by the great dignitaries, and by the brothers and sons of the king. Last of all came the Prince of Wales, conspicuous by his fine person and noble bearing. The gray old walls were hung with scarlet. The long 930
galleries were crowded by an audience such as has rarely excited the fears or the emulation of an orator. There were gathered together, from all parts of a great, free, enlightened, and prosperous empire, grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and of every art. There were seated round the queen the fair-haired young daughters of the house of Brunswick. There the ambassadors of great kings and commonwealths gazed with admiration on a spectacle which no other country in the world could present. There Siddons, in the prime of her majestic 940

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and dignity he declined to submit himself to the jurisdiction of the Court, on the ground that he was their hereditary king.

924. Gibraltar endured a memorable siege of more than three years at this time. It was bravely defended by Gen. Elliot, with a garrison of 5,000 men. The siege was continued until the peace in 1783. Gen. Elliot, on his return to England in 1787, was raised to the peerage as **Lord Heathfield**, of Gibraltar.

929. **Prince of Wales.**—Afterwards George IV. (1820–1830). At this time the Prince was 26 years of age, of dissolute habits and a spendthrift.

937. **The Queen.**—The wife of George III., and Queen of England, was Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. **The House of Brunswick,** or Hanover, includes the rulers of England from George I. to Victoria.

940. **Sarah Siddons** (1755–1831).—The famous tragic actress. Her great character was Lady Macbeth. Mrs. Siddons was at this time 33 years old, and was at the height of her fame.

beauty, looked with emotion on a scene surpassing all the imitations of the stage. There the historian of the Roman Empire thought of the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres, and when, before a senate which still retained some show of freedom, Tacitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa. There were seen, side by side, the greatest painter and the greatest scholar of the age. The spectacle had allured Reynolds from that easel which has preserved to us the thoughtful foreheads of so many writers and statesmen, and the sweet smiles of so many noble matrons. It had induced Parr to suspend his labors in that dark and profound mine from which he had extracted a vast treasure of erudition. There were the members of that brilliant society which quoted, criticised, and exchanged repartees, under the rich peacock-hangings of Mrs. Montague. And there the ladies whose lips, more persuasive than those of Fox himself, had carried the Westminster election against palace and treasury, shone round Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire.

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942. **Historian of the Roman Empire.**—Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), the great historian of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, finished his masterly work only the year before, in 1787.

943. **Cicero** (106 B.C.–43 B.C.).—The illustrious Roman orator. The infamous Verres, praetor of Sicily, was impeached (70 B.C.) by the Sicilians, for atrocious acts of cruelty and rapine. Cicero conducted the prosecution of Verres, who employed Hortensius to defend him. On account of the overwhelming evidence against the accused, Cicero delivered only two of his seven orations before Verres himself went into voluntary exile; but the others were published and remain a noble monument of the great orator's versatile genius.

945. **Tacitus.**—A celebrated Roman historian who flourished in the first century. His *History of Agricola* and *Annals* rank high as Latin classics.

947. **The Greatest Painter.**—Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), the celebrated painter, the friend of Dr. Johnson, Burke, Goldsmith, and other great men of his time.

947. **The Greatest Scholar.**—Samuel Parr (1747-1825), enjoyed in his time an extraordinary reputation for scholarship. His voluminous works have long since been forgotten. See De Quincey's essay on Dr. Samuel Parr.

955. **Elizabeth Montague** (1720-1800).—A celebrated English lady who lived in London after the death of her husband in 1775. She numbered among her visitors the most eminent people of the day; Burke, Goldsmith, Dr. Johnson, Reynolds and Hannah More. Mrs. Montague also made valuable contributions to literature. Consult Boswell's *Life of Dr. Johnson*.

956. **Charles James Fox** (1749-1806).—The great statesman and orator. Burke called him "the greatest debater the world ever saw."

Cf. Sir Walter Scott's well-known couplet—

"Shed upon Fox's grave the tear,
'Twill trickle to his rival's bier."

958. **Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire** (1757-1806).—An English lady, famed for her beauty and accomplishments. She was a personal friend of

The sergeants made proclamation. Hastings advanced to the bar, and bent his knee. The culprit was indeed not un- 96a
worthy of that great presence. He had ruled an extensive and populous country, had made laws and treaties, had sent forth armies, had set up and pulled down princes. And in his high place he had so borne himself that all had feared him, that most had loved him, and that hatred itself could deny him no title to glory, except virtue. He looked like a great man, and not like a bad man. A person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from a carriage which, while it indicated deference to the court, indicated also habitual self-possession and self-respect, a high and intellectual forehead, a brow pen- 97a
sive, but not gloomy, a mouth of inflexible decision, a face pale and worn, but serene, on which was written, as legibly as under the picture in the council-chamber at Calcutta, *Mens æqua in arduis;* such was the aspect with which the great proconsul presented himself to his judges.

His counsel accompanied him, men all of whom were afterwards raised by their talents and learning to the highest posts in their profession.

But neither the culprit nor his advocates attracted so much notice as the accusers. In the midst of the blaze of red dra- 98a
pery, a space had been fitted up with green benches and tables for the Commons. The managers, with Burke at their head, appeared in full dress. The collectors of gossip did not fail to remark that even Fox, generally so regardless of his appearance, had paid to the illustrious tribunal the compliment of wearing a bag and sword. Pitt had refused to be one of the conductors of the impeachment; and his commanding, copious, and sonorous eloquence was wanting to that great muster of various talents. Age and blindness had unfitted Lord

Fox, for whom, it is said, she bought votes by granting electors the privilege of kissing her.

986. **William Pitt** (1759-1806).—Son of the great Earl of Chatham. His genius and ambition displayed themselves with almost unexampled precocity. At the age of 25, Pitt ruled absolutely over the English Cabinet, and was the most powerful subject that England had seen for many generations. For seventeen eventful years, he held his great position without a break. As a statesman and orator, Pitt was of the highest rank. Cf. Macaulay's biography of William Pitt.

North for the duties of a public prosecutor ; and his friends were left without the help of his excellent sense, his tact, and his urbanity. But, in spite of the absence of these two distinguished members of the Lower House, the box in which the managers stood contained an array of speakers such as perhaps had not appeared together since the great age of Athenian eloquence. There were Fox and Sheridan, the English Demosthenes and the English Hyperides. There was Burke, ignorant, indeed, or negligent, of the art of adapting his reasonings and his style to the capacity and taste of his hearers, but in amplitude of comprehension and richness of imagination superior to every orator, ancient or modern. There, with eyes reverentially fixed on Burke, appeared the finest gentleman of the age, his form developed by every manly exercise, his face beaming with intelligence and spirit, the ingenious, the chivalrous, the high-souled Windham. Nor, though surrounded by such men, did the youngest manager pass unnoticed. At an age when most of those who distinguish themselves in life are still contending for prizes and fellowships at college, he had won for himself a conspicuous place in Parliament. No advantage of fortune or connection was wanting that could set off to the height his splendid tal-

990. **Lord North.**—The prime minister of England during the Revolution. "A more amiable man never lived," says Earl Russell ; "a worse minister never since the Revolution governed this country." Lord North was 56 years old at this time.

996. **Richard Brinsley Sheridan** (1751-1816).—The brilliant orator and author of the popular plays, *The Rivals* and *School for Scandal*, which have kept their popularity for over a hundred years. His great speech urging the impeachment of Hastings is still traditionally remembered as perhaps the very grandest triumph of oratory in a time prolific of such triumphs.

997. **Demosthenes** (About 382 B.C.--322 B.C.).—The great Greek orator, generally regarded as the greatest orator that ever lived.

997. **Hyperides.**—A famous Athenian orator put to death in 322 B.C. Cicero ranks him next to Demosthenes. His orations have all been lost.

1005. **William Windham** (1750-1810).—Secretary of War under Mr. Pitt, an excellent speaker and a most effective debater. Fox, Pitt, Canning, Dr. Johnson, and other great men of that time, gave Windham the highest praise. In his lifetime, he gained the nickname of "the weathercock." Notwithstanding his great talents and rare gifts, Windham appears in history as a mere shadow of a man.

1006. **The Youngest Manager.**—Charles Earl Grey (1764-1845). Head of the government which carried the Reform Bill in 1832, and a distinguished English statesman. During the Grey ministry many great and important measures were passed. It was said that a more honorable man never lived.

ents and his unblemished honor. The charges and the answers of Hastings were first read. The ceremony occupied two whole days, and was rendered less tedious than it would otherwise have been by the silver voice and just emphasis of Cowper, the clerk of the court, a near relation of the amiable poet. On the third day Burke rose. Four sittings were occupied by his opening speech, which was intended to be a general introduction to all the charges. With an exuberance of thought and a splendor of diction which more than satisfied the highly raised expectation of the audience, he described the character and institutions of the natives of India, recounted the circumstances in which the Asiatic empire of Britain had originated, and set forth the constitution of the Company and of the English presidencies. Having thus attempted to communicate to his hearers an idea of Eastern society as vivid as that which existed in his own mind, he proceeded to arraign the administration of Hastings as systematically conducted in defiance of morality and public law. The energy and pathos of the great orator extorted expressions of unwonted admiration from the stern and hostile chancellor, and, for a moment, seemed to pierce even the resolute heart of the defendant. The ladies in the galleries, unaccustomed to such displays of eloquence, excited by the solemnity of the occasion, and perhaps not unwilling to display their taste and sensibility, were in a state of uncontrollable emotion. Handkerchiefs were pulled out; smelling bottles were handed round; hysterical sobs and screams were heard; and Mrs. Sheridan was carried out in a fit. At length the orator concluded. Raising his voice till the old arches of Irish oak resounded, "Therefore," said he, "hath it with all confidence been ordered by the Commons of Great Britain, that I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanors. I impeach him in the name of the Com-

1015. **Cowper, the Clerk of the Court.**—This gentleman gave William Cowper, the poet, the lucrative office of Clerk of the Journals of the House of Lords, which was accepted; but being obliged to appear personally at the bar of the House for examination, the sensitive poet was seized with nervousness and dared not appear.

mons' House of Parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose ancient honor he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose rights he has trodden under foot, and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all!"

When the deep murmur of various emotions had subsided, Mr. Fox rose to address the Lords respecting the course of proceeding to be followed. The wish of the accusers was that the court would bring to a close the investigation of the first charge before the second was opened. The wish of Hastings and of his counsel was that the managers should open all the charges, and produce all the evidence for the prosecution, before the defense began. The Lords retired to their own House to consider the question. The division showed which way the inclination of the tribunal leaned. A majority of near three to one decided in favor of the course for which Hastings contended.

When the court sat again, Mr. Fox, assisted by Mr. Grey, opened the charge respecting Cheyte Sing, and several days were spent in reading papers and hearing witnesses. The next article was that relating to the Princesses of Oude. The conduct of this part of the case was intrusted to Sheridan. The curiosity of the public to hear him was unbounded. His sparkling and highly finished declamation lasted two days; but the Hall was crowded to suffocation during the whole time. It was said that fifty guineas had been paid for a single ticket.

June was now far advanced. The session could not last much longer; and the progress which had been made in the impeachment was not very satisfactory. There were twenty charges. On two only of these had even the case for the prosecution been heard; and it was now a year since Hastings had been admitted to bail.

The interest taken by the public in the trial was great when

the court began to sit, and rose to the height when Sheridan spoke on the charge relating to the Begums. From that time the excitement went down fast. The spectacle had lost the attraction of novelty. The great displays of rhetoric were over.

It is to be added that, in the spring of 1788, when the trial commenced, no important question, either of domestic or foreign policy, occupied the public mind.

The proceedings in Westminster Hall, therefore, naturally attracted most of the attention of Parliament and of the country. It was the one great event of that season. But in the following year the king's illness, the debates on the Regency, the expectation of a change of ministry, completely diverted public attention from Indian affairs; and within a fortnight after George the Third had returned thanks in St. Paul's for his recovery, the States-general of France met at Versailles. In the midst of the agitation produced by these events, the impeachment was for a time almost forgotten.

The trial in the Hall went on languidly. In the session of 1788, when the proceedings had the interest of novelty, and when the Peers had little other business before them, only thirty-five days were given to the impeachment. In 1789, the Regency Bill occupied the Upper House till the session was far advanced. During the whole year only seventeen days were given to the case of Hastings. It was clear that the matter would be protracted to a length unprecedented in the annals of criminal law.

A well-constituted tribunal, sitting regularly six days in the week, and nine hours in the day, would have brought the trial of Hastings to a close in less than three months. The Lords had not finished their work in seven years.

At length, in the spring of 1795, the decision was pro-

1102. **Regency Bill.**—In 1788, King George III. was seized with a violent illness, which terminated in symptoms of lunacy. Fox insisted on the exclusive right of the Prince of Wales to be appointed Regent, a position which Pitt triumphantly refuted. While the bill was in progress the king's convalescence was announced, February, 1789.

nounced, near eight years after Hastings had been brought by the Sergeant-at-arms of the Commons to the bar of the Lords. On the last day of this great procedure the public curiosity, long suspended, seemed to be revived. Anxiety about the judgment there could be none; for it had been fully ascertained that there was a great majority for the defendant. Nevertheless, many wished to see the pageant, and the Hall was as much crowded as on the first day. But those who, having been present on the first day, now bore a part in the proceedings of the last, were few; and most of those few were altered men.

As Hastings himself said, the arraignment had taken place before one generation, and the judgment was pronounced by another. The spectator could not look at the woolsack, or at the red benches of the Peers, or at the green benches of the Commons, without seeing something that reminded him of the instability of all human things, of the instability of power and fame and life, of the more lamentable instability of friendship. Of about a hundred and sixty nobles who walked in the procession on the first day, sixty had been laid in their family vaults. The great chiefs were still living, and still in the full vigor of their genius. But their friendship was at an end.

Only twenty-nine Peers voted. Of these only six found Hastings guilty on the charges relating to Cheyte Sing and to the Begums. On other charges, the majority in his favor was still greater. On some he was unanimously absolved. He was then called to the bar, was informed from the woolsack that the Lords had acquitted him, and was solemnly discharged. He bowed respectfully and retired.

We have said that the decision had been fully expected. It was also generally approved. At the commencement of the trial there had been a strong and indeed unreasonable feeling against Hastings. At the close of the trial there was a feeling equally strong and equally unreasonable in his favor. The

1124. **Woolsack.**—An act of Parliament was passed in the reign of Elizabeth to prevent the exportation of wool. In order to keep well in mind this source of national wealth, woolsacks were placed in the House of Lords as seats for the judges. The seat of the Lord Chancellor is to this day called the "woolsack."

length of his trial made him an object of compassion. It was thought, and not without reason, that, even if he was guilty, he was still an ill-used man, and that an impeachment of eight years was more than a sufficient punishment. It was also felt that, though in the ordinary course of criminal law, a defendant is not allowed to set off his good actions against his crimes, a great political cause should be tried on different principles, and that a man who had governed an empire during thirteen years might have done some very reprehensible things, and yet might be, on the whole, deserving of rewards and honors rather than of fine and imprisonment. The press, an instrument neglected by the prosecutors, was used by Hastings and his friends with great effect. Every ship, too, that arrived from Madras or Bengal brought a cuddy full of his admirers. Every gentleman from India spoke of the late governor-general as having deserved better, and having been treated worse, than any man living. The effect of this testimony unanimously given by all persons who knew the East was naturally very great.

Hastings was, however, safe. But in everything except character he would have been far better off if, when first impeached, he had at once pleaded guilty, and paid a fine of fifty thousand pounds. He was a ruined man. The legal expenses of his defense had been enormous. The expenses which did not appear in his attorney's bill were perhaps larger still. Great sums had been laid out in bribing newspapers, rewarding pamphleteers, and circulating tracts. Burke, so early as 1790, declared in the House of Commons that twenty thousand pounds had been employed in corrupting the press. It is certain that no controversial weapon, from the gravest reasoning to the coarsest ribaldry, was left unemployed.

Still, if Hastings had practiced strict economy, he would, after all his losses, have had a moderate competence ; but in the management of his private affairs he was imprudent.

1158. **Madras.**—A large and prosperous maritime city of India, on the Coromandel coast, founded by the English in 1640.

The dearest wish of his heart had always been to regain Daylesford. At length, in the very year in which his trial commenced, the wish was accomplished; and the domain, alienated more than seventy years before, returned to the descendant of its old lords. But the manor-house was a ruin; and the grounds round it had, during many years, been utterly neglected. Hastings proceeded to build, to plant, to form a sheet of water, to excavate a grotto; and, before he was dismissed from the bar of the House of Lords, he had expended more than forty thousand pounds in adorning his seat.

The general feeling both of the Directors and of the proprietors of the East India Company was that he had great claims on them, that his services to them had been eminent, and that his misfortunes had been the effect of his zeal for their interest. An annuity for life of four thousand pounds was settled on Hastings. The company was also permitted to lend him fifty thousand pounds, to be repaid by installments without interest.

He had security and affluence, but not the power and dignity which, when he landed from India, he had reason to expect. He was now too old a man to turn his mind to a new class of studies and duties. He had no chance of receiving any mark of royal favor while Mr. Pitt remained in power; and, when Mr. Pitt retired, Hastings was approaching his seventieth year.

The last twenty-four years of his life were chiefly passed at Daylesford. He amused himself with embellishing his grounds, riding fine Arab horses, fattening prize-cattle, and trying to rear Indian animals and vegetables in England. Literature divided his attention with his conservatories and his menagerie. He had always loved books, and they were now necessary to him. Though not a poet, in any high sense of the word, he wrote neat and polished lines with great facility, and was fond of exercising this talent.

When Hastings had passed many years in retirement, and had long outlived the common age of men, he again became for a short time an object of general attention. In 1813 the

charter of the East India Company was renewed, and much discussion about Indian affairs took place in Parliament. It was determined to examine witnesses at the bar of the Commons, and Hastings was ordered to attend. He had appeared at that bar once before. It was when he read his answer to the charges which Burke had laid on the table. Since that time twenty-seven years had elapsed ; public feeling had undergone a complete change ; the nation had now forgotten his faults, and remembered only his services. The reappearance, too, of a man who had been among the most distinguished of a generation that had passed away, who now belonged to history, and who seemed to have risen from the dead, could not but produce a solemn and pathetic effect. The Commons received him with acclamations, ordered a chair to be set for him, and, when he retired, rose and uncovered. The Lords received the old man with similar tokens of respect.

These marks of public esteem were soon followed by marks of royal favor. Hastings was sworn of the privy council, and was admitted to a long private audience of the prince regent, who treated him very graciously. When the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia visited England, Hastings appeared in their train both at Oxford and in the Guildhall of London, and, though surrounded by a crowd of princes and great warriors, was everywhere received with marks of respect and admiration. Hastings now confidently expected a peerage ; but, from some unexplained cause, he was again disappointed.

He lived about four years longer, in the enjoyment of good spirits, of faculties not impaired to any painful or degrading extent, and of health such as is rarely enjoyed by those who attain such an age. At length, on the 22d of August, 1818, in the 86th year of his age, he met death with the same tranquil and decorous fortitude which he had opposed to all the trials of his various and eventful life.

1236. **Guildhall.**—An important public building in London. The original building was erected in 1411. It has been famous for centuries for the magnificence of its civic feasts.

With all his faults—and they were neither few nor small—only one cemetery was worthy to contain his remains. In that temple of silence and reconciliation where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried, in the Great Abbey which has during many ages afforded a quiet resting-place to those whose minds and bodies have been shattered by the contentions of the Great Hall, the dust of the illustrious accused should have mingled with the dust of the illustrious accusers. This was not to be. Yet the place of interment was not ill chosen. Behind the chancel of the parish church of Daylesford, in earth which already held the bones of many chiefs of the house of Hastings, was laid the coffin of the greatest man who has ever borne that ancient and widely extended name. On that very spot, probably, fourscore years before, the little Warren, meanly clad and scantily fed, had played with the children of plowmen. Even then his young mind had revolved plans which might be called romantic. Yet, however romantic, it is not likely that they had been so strange as the truth. Not only had the poor orphan retrieved the fallen fortunes of his line. Not only had he repurchased the old lands, and rebuilt the old dwelling. He had preserved and extended an empire. He had founded a polity. He had administered government and war with more than the capacity of Richelieu. He had patronized learning with the judicious liberality of Cosmo. He had been attacked by the most formidable combination of enemies that ever sought the destruction of a single victim; and over that combination, after a struggle of ten years, he had triumphed. He had at length gone down to his grave in the fullness of age in peace, after so many troubles; in honor, after so much obloquy.

Those who look on his character without favor or malevolence will pronounce that, in the two great elements of all so-

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1270. **Cardinal Richelieu** (1585-1642).—The eminent and ambitious French statesman and prime minister.

1271. **Cosmo** or **Cosimo de Medici** (1389-1464), surnamed the **Elder,** a famous statesman of the Florentine republic, and liberal patron of learning and the arts.

cial virtue, in respect for the rights of others, and in sympathy 1280
for the sufferings of others, he was deficient. His principles were somewhat lax. His heart was somewhat hard. But though we cannot with truth describe him either as a righteous or as a merciful ruler, we cannot regard without admiration the amplitude and fertility of his intellect, his rare talents for command, for administration, and for controversy, his dauntless courage, his honorable poverty, his fervent zeal for the interests of the State, his noble equanimity, tried by both extremes of fortune, and never disturbed by either.

He had a head which statuaries loved to copy, and a foot the deformity of which the beggars in the streets mimicked.—*Essay on Lord Byron.*

This is the highest miracle of genius—that things which are not should be as though they were, that the imaginations of one mind should become the personal recollections of another. And this miracle the tinker has wrought.—*Essay on the Pilgrim's Progress.*

To every man upon this earth
Death cometh soon or late,
And how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds,
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his gods?
—*Lays of Ancient Rome.*

The real security of Christianity is to be found in its benevolent morality, in its exquisite adaptation to the human heart, in the facility with which its scheme accommodates itself to the capacity of every human intellect, in the consolation which it bears to the house of mourning, in the light with which it brightens the great mystery of the grave.—*Essay on Southey's Colloquies on Society.*

Surely it is no exaggeration to say, that no external advantage is to be compared with that purification of the intellectual eye, which gives us to contemplate the infinite wealth of the mental world; all the hoarded treasures of the primeval dynasties, all the shapeless ore of its yet unexplored mines. This is the gift of Athens to man. Her freedom and her power have for more than twenty centuries been annihilated; her people have degenerated into feeble slaves; her language into a barbarous jargon; her temples have been given up to the successive depredations of Romans, Turks, and Scotchmen; but her intellectual empire is imperishable. And when those who have rivaled her greatness shall have shared her fate; when civilization and knowledge shall have fixed their abode in distant continents; when the sceptre shall have passed away from England; when, perhaps, travelers from distant regions shall in vain labor to decipher on some mouldering pedestal the name of our proudest chief; shall hear savage hymns chanted to some misshapen idol over the ruined dome of our proudest temple; and shall see a single naked fisherman wash his nets in the river of ten thousand masts,—her influence and her glory will still survive, fresh in eternal youth, exempt from mutability and decay, immortal as the intellectual principle from which they derived their origin, and over which they exercise their control.—*Essay on the Athenian Orators.*

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